1: Jenness--187-188 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 776, 789

"I was told that in Bathurst inlet the opening of the sealing season is marked by a pitched battle between the shamans and the many little tornrait [AW: spirits] that live on the ice. The shamans, it was said, hold a séance in the dance-house and summon their familiars; then with their snow-dusters they pursue the spirits, fighting them like dogs, so that often both the mouths of the men and the ends of the snow-dusters are covered with blood. The spirits of course are always defeated; but unless they were got rid of in this manner they would drive away all the seals, and the Eskimos would starve during the winter.

From generation to generation, from inyuit sivulingni, 'Men of the first times,' as the natives say, various incantations, akeutit, have been handed down to appease or drive away the malignant spirits. The incantation is usually sung by all the people, with one of their shamans standing in the centre of the ring; and as they sing their bodies sway from side to side, though their feet remain stationary. At the conclusion of the refrain the shaman invokes his familiars, and with their aid produces the desired result. Children are generally excluded from these performances. Many of the incantations are very old and have lost whatever meaning they had originally; but this does not lessen their potency. I heard one sung during a snow-storm in the late summer of 1915. Tusayok and Kesullik had no tent, so they improvised a rude shelter by stretching some skins between two crags; but since in spite of this they were very cold and

uncomfortable, Tusayok chanted an incantation and repeated it over and over again for about an hour. There were only about half a dozen words in it, and each taken by itself was intelligible enough, but no one had any clear idea of what the whole song meant. Tusayok thought, however, that the mere singing of this incantation, even though he was not himself a shaman, might have the effect of driving away the evil shades or spirits who were causing the storm and produce fine weather again. Literally translated the song ran: ---

I come again, I, again.
I come again, I, again. Do you not know?
I come again, I, again. (1)

About an hour after this had happened Kesullik tied a cord round his face so that it wrinkled up his nose and distorted his features, giving him a most grotesque appearance. He then sallied forth with a knife in his hand and defied the weather. Almost the same thing had occurred a month or two earlier when Ikpakhuak and a hunting party were lost for three days in a fog. Higilak distorted her features with a cord and con-

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"1. A spirit is supposed to be speaking all through."

fronted the fog, brandishing a knife in one hand and a set fox-trap in the other; ilanak-hotin 'You are angry', she [188] shouted, and Haugak and I --one on either side of her pretending to hold her back -- echoed her cry. We all had to laugh immoderately, to mock, it would seem, the shades or spirits that were responsible for the fog. Finally, with the cry mammienaksilekpakpok 'Its a confounded nuisance', she flung her fox-trap down on the ground, making it spring off and thereby intimidate the hostile powers."

l: Jenness--188 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 776, 789

"The greatest of all the spirits, tornrait, is Kannakapfaluk, who lives in a snow hut just like the Eskimos, with a lamp and sleeping-platform and all the usual household paraphernalia. But Kannakapfaluk's hut is at the bottom of the sea, and her dogs are two bears, one brown and one white. There is a dwarf who lives with her, a man about three feet high whom the Eskimos call Unga because of the cry he utters when the shamans drag him up to the surface. If the Eskimo women sew too much on the ice, or break any of the taboos in reference to either sewing or cooking, Unga gathers all the seals inside the hut, and the Eskimos in consequence have no success in their sealing. The shamans then hold a séance in the dance-house and lower a long rope through the floor with a noose at one end of it. All the people gather round the rope and sing this incantation, which is known from one end of the Copper Eskimo country to the other: --

The woman down there she wants to go away.
Some of the young sea-gulls I can't lay my hands on. (1)

"1. One native said that when Kannakapfaluk cannot shut up the seals she shuts up sea-gulls instead. More probably 'sea-gulls' in shamanistic utterances means 'seals.'"

That man (2) he can't right matters by himself.
That man he can't mend matters by himself.
Over there where no people dwell I go myself and right matters.
He can't right matters by himself.
Over there where no people dwell, thither I go and right matters myself. (3)

As soon as the song is ended the shamans are supposed to slip a noose over Kannakapfaluk's wrists and haul her up until her head is just below the level of the floor. They must not draw her any higher because she would be very angry if the people in the dance-house saw her. The shamans talk to her, telling her that the people are starving for want of seals and asking her to release them again; Unga in the meantime remains below guarding the seals. Kannakapfaluk is now lowered again, and at once orders Unga to release some of the seals. Then the Eskimo hunters are successful again and the community prospers.

Another method is said to be adopted occasionally by the shamans. One of them will dive down through the water and enter Kannakapfaluk's hut. Unga, the guardian

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"2. 'That man' refers to the shaman in the dance-house, but whether another shaman is supposed to be speaking or not is uncertain."

"3. The chant is then repeated from the third line."

of the seals, tries to escape, but the shaman tucks him under his coat and carries him up to the dance-house, holding him carefully concealed so that the people may not see him, though they hear his cries. Unga is then told to let out the seals and sent back to report to Kannakapfaluk."

1: Jenness--192-193 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 791, 789

"Shamans always, or almost always, have more than one familiar. Uloksak claimed to haye many, including a white man, a polar bear, a wolf and a dog. I never heard of any bird familiars; they do exist perhaps, but not often, for birds are unimportant in the economy of the Copper Eskimos and therefore attract but little attention. One of Higilak's familiars was the shade of a dead relative, but she had besides this a polar bear and a wolf. Some shamans assign different functions to different familiars, using one, for example, in cases of sickness, and another for producing an abundance of seals. In this way one might be ranked as more important than the rest; for instance the familiar that was used for seals might be regarded as of more service than the one used to drive out a disease. But this specialization of functions is neither necessary nor usual. Every shaman probably has a preference for some particular familiar, and [193] employs it more than the others he claims to control; for a certain amount of acting is necessary in shamanistic performances, and naturally a man may find one róle easier than another."

1: Jenness--197-198 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 791, 789

"The most extraordinary feats and miracles are ascribed to shamans when under the inspiration of their familiars. They swallow fire, fly through the air, change into animals, sink into the ground or water, kill and restore to life again and discover things that are hidden from ordinary sight. Once they were able to visit the moon, but the modern shamans have lost that power. On returning from a trip to Coronation gulf in March, 1915, I was handed a little note written by our Mackenzie river native Palaiy-ak describing what the shamans in Dolphin and Union strait had done in my absence. Translated it ran: 'I shall relate what I was told about the shamans. Well, a man cut off both his legs and his arms. While he was holding this seance the children were forbidden to go outside; if they went out they would die. Once he killed a strong man (who left the dance-house during the seance). He exchanged his familiar spirit with Uloksak (i. e., the two shamans sent their familiars into each other's bodies). Uloksak too forbade the children on pain of death to go outdoors while he was holding a seance. Some of the people were stricken with sickness (one of the patients was Uloksak's own wife Kukkilukak) and the shamans extracted some bones and worms from their bodies.' [198]

In May, 1916, two of our western Eskimos, both Christianized, witnessed a seance that was held by a woman at Tree river. Invoking her familiar, they said, she began to converse with it; feeble sounds issued in reply from the woman's stomach in which

the spirit was lodged. After a few minutes some of the natives told our two Eskimos to look out over the land. There, protruding above the ground, they saw two heads, a man's and a woman's, which appeared and disappeared several times, then finally disappeared altogether. Our Eskimos went over to examine the spot and found that the ground was all overturned. They fully agreed with the Copper Eskimos that it was the shaman who had caused the phenomenon.

Innumerable stories are current of the wonderful powers that the shamans possess, and no native entertains the slightest doubt as to the literal truth of every incident. I shall narrate a few of them as they were told to me by eye-witnesses, since they throw considerable light on the mentality of the people.

Not many years ago, it was said, a certain shaman used often to fly through the air. He would hang his bow on his left shoulder and fly off like a ptarmigan. After a few yards he would settle and walk along the ground for a short distance, then rise in the air again. The people had often witnessed this. Ilatsiak was frequently credited with the same power, but he denied it himself, saying that he was not a bird. It is curious that I never saw or heard among these Eskimos of the so-called spirit flights, in which the shaman, after being lashed from head to foot, sets free his soul and travels through

the air, finally returning to his body and releasing it from its bonds.(1)"

"1. See Boas, Bulletin A.M.N.H., Vol. XV, p. 491; and Bur. of Ethnol, Vol. 6, p. 594."

1: Jenness--229 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 789

"It is natural, too, that the natives should believe implicitly in clairvoyance or second sight. More interesting is their peculiar belief in the projection of the human will. I stayed one night with two families who were camped at the mouth of a creek near Cape Lambert in order to spear the migrating salmon. Hardly any salmon at that time had made their appearance, so just as I was leaving, one of the natives asked me to 'will' that the fish should enter the creek. That very evening a large shoal of salmon did enter the weir and were speared. The native came to thank me a few days later; he said, 'You bade the fish come up, so they came, and we have killed large numbers of them.' With a similar idea an old man in Coronation gulf begged Dr. Anderson to cherish good thoughts of him and his family so that they would come to no harm. On another occasion, when the mosquitoes were plaguing us very badly, Kanneyuk circled her finger round her eye and cried 'Wind, wind.' She seemed to think that if you told the weather to clear or a wind to spring up or anything at all to happen your appeal would very probably take effect. To tease her I summoned the mosquitoes to come, and she earnestly protested against my action. During a storm the natives often cry out, 'Be fine, it is very unpleasant when the weather is bad, be fine;' or again, 'We can't seal when the weather is stormy, be fine!' Several times I have heard Higilak appeal thus to the weather when her husband was away hunting. It was not the spirit world that the relatives had in mind when they made these appeals, for once

when I added, 'Hearken and obey,' they all burst out laughing; rather they seemed to hold that the very expression of one's thought, the mere utterance of a wish, in some dim and obscure manner worked for its fulfilment. (1)"

"1. Cf. Stefansson, My Life with the Eskimo, p. 295."

3: Rasmussen--28-29 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 789, 791, 821

"[MPK: The functions of the shaman were:] To propitiate storms and bad weather.

In the case of a long period of bad weather, especially in winter when snow storms put a stop to hunting of all kinds, the shamans would act as subduers of the weather. This was the way it was done: the people gathered in the qag^{s}je, after which one or two shamans ran out into the open air with their upper bodies bare except for a head-band made of the long breast hair of the caribou. The cause of continuous bad weather with blizzards was that the weather's opening, had been left ajar, and through the opening streamed the storm; when the shamans run up against the wind, naked as they are, it is their task to close up the hole in hila. [MPK: the weather] This is often done with the aid of helping spirits, and then the weather's opening has to be bound up with the shaman's head-band. As soon as this is done the storm will cease.

It will be noticed that among the Umingmaktôrmiut there is constant reference to the weather's opening, just as if it were something [29] that could be opened and closed from space -- an entrance hole or the like. Among the other groups that have previously been described it is the usual belief that the spirit of hila is personified in the infant, who lives out in space. When the child's napkin loosens the wind begins to blow, and therefore the shaman has to go up and put it right."

3: Rasmussen--29 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 789, 791

"[MPK: The functions of the shaman were:]

To attack and kill evil spirits.

It sometimes happens that a village is attacked by evil spirits that have come out of graves. Of these evil spirits, it is said that they are the souls of the dead, which turn wicked with age. These evil spirits can be killed by a shaman either in the qag°je itself or out in the entrance passage. As a rule this is done with a snow-beater, which for this purpose must always be of hard wood, in contrast to orpiqAq, which is of willow. Armed with this snow-beater the shaman fights with the spirits -- invisible as they are to ordinary people, with the result that the snow-beater becomes covered with blood. Especially skilful shamans can also fight them with their bare fists."

3: Rasmussen--29-30 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo-1-2
116, 22, 789, 791

"[MPK: The functions of the shaman were:]
To procure animals for hunting.

This can be done by means of a very simple seance, in which the shaman merely gives the people of the village an opportunity to confess the various taboos they have broken. It is not always necessary to call [MPK: Sea Woman] up to the snow hut.

In addition to these public obligations, every shaman is fond of demonstrating his powers by doing tricks. One favourite trick is to hold a seal thong in the hand in the qag^{c}je and let it be severed before the eyes of everybody there; after many mysterious manipulations the thong is then shown to be whole and uncut.

I have myself seen this trick performed on many occasions, and noticed that besides the whole thong, the shaman had a short line of just the same thickness and appearance. It was this line that he allowed someone in the qag^{c}je to cut, and, while working to make it whole again it was never difficult to conceal the severed piece in his clothing.

There are many ways of proving that one is in communication with helping spirits. It is a very common thing that when a thong is thrown from the inside of the qag^{c}je out through the passage, it is seized by one or more spirits outside. As soon as the line is taut the [30] shaman gets people inside to haul on to the other end of it, and sometimes the spirits show that their strength is enormous.

Another favourite trick is to hold a mitten on the end of a snow beater out into the

passage and, when the beater is withdrawn, the mitten is no longer there. If it is stuck out again, the mitten reappears on it.

During one of these demonstrations at which I was present, one of the members of my expedition came unexpectedly into the passage where the spirits were supposed to be, and there he saw two men -- the shaman's assistants -- hastily conceal themselves in an offshoot from the passage."

"They have heard of dwarf seals, which are thought to live in the great lake of the Netsilik: Willerstedt Lake. These seals are quite small but otherwise just like other seals. They are no bigger than that they can be carried in a game bag, and yet the old bull seals smell just the same as real old bull seals.

In former times animals in human form were very common. Then they lived just like men as long as they were in human form. In more recent times they only know of cases of wolves and wolverines having been met in human form by a shaman. A wolverine had a wolf for his wife, and the shaman heard the wife scolding her husband because he could not lift the same heavy burdens that she could. In olden times, too, everybody could easily turn into animals, and until quite recently shamans have had the same powers. Thus before the eyes of the whole village Hêq's father was able to turn himself into a polar bear. The secret of doing this has now been lost. All that remains may be classified among the demonstration tricks of the shamans: an ermine skin is displayed by a shaman; it is then laid in under the platform, and shortly afterwards, they say, an ermine comes leaping out on to the floor. I have not seen this demonstration, but I have seen shamans turn into wolves or polar bears. This transformation was more than naïve, and was nothing more than suddenly letting wolf or bear teeth 'grow out of their mouth' during a seance. They had concealed the teeth in their clothing, and once in the mouth, it was all they could do to prevent them falling out again. Nevertheless,

the people firmly believed that the spirit of a bear or a wolf had beset the shaman. After the seance the teeth were skilfully ejected and hidden away again."

3: Rasmussen--201 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 539, 789

"The hook-spirits.

The hook-spirits are some of the spirits of the air. According to what is said, they are sunk down into the sea by the shamans.

A shaman places himself in the passage, and the people who have come to witness the seance are in the festival house. The hook-spirits use their hooks to try to pull the passage down--they want it to collapse. But the shaman fears some catastrophe will happen to the people, and, when the spirit approaches the window, he shouts aloud and the windowhas to be splashed with water. The shaman runs outside and, when he says: Now! the people splash water on the window with small scoops that only hold little water. And at once the rushing of spirits outside ceases!

It is when people want mild weather that the shamans sink the hook-spirits down into the sea to the Mother of the Sea Beasts."

6: Roberts and Jenness--14 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo
116, 533, 789

"The incantations in this collection, though much fewer than the dance-songs, are yet numerous enough to reveal how important a place they occupy in the field of Copper Eskimo music. All that are here recorded are incantations to produce fine weather, except No. 88, which was said to be for healing the sick. Weather incantations, though occasionally chanted in summer, are most often employed during the winter months, when terrible blizzards prevent the Eskimos from sealing and reduce them to a state of famine. The natives then gather in their dance-houses and strive to appease or drive away the malignant spirits that are credited with producing the storms. Generally the performance is preceded by the usual dances. At their close a shaman enters the ring, the drum is laid aside, and the people strike up the incantation, swaying their bodies from side to side but keeping their feet stationary. When the incantation is concluded the shaman invokes his familiar or guardian spirit and begins his séance. (1)"

"1. See Vol. XII, Pt. A, Ch. XIV, especially pp. 187-188."

6: Roberts and Jenness--14 (1914-16) 1925 Copper Eskimo
116, 533, 789, 424

"Chants like Nos. 100 and 106, though called weather incantations, are intended mainly to produce an abundance of seals. Similar chants probably exist for caribou and fish, although none were actually recorded. One for brown bears was obtained from a Bathurst inlet shaman who learned it from an Eskimo of the Thelon river district on the west coast of Hudson bay. (2) It ran:

....
'Game, food animals [I wish to kill].
Your big feet, your big hands.
I make them walk on all fours, I make them walk on all fours."

"2. This incantation, unlike all the others that were recorded, belonged exclusively to one man, who had purchased it originally with a knife."

6: Roberts and Jenness--15 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo
116, 533, 789

"An incantation of any kind is called by the Copper Eskimo aquen, by the Eskimos of the Mackenzie river delta, where they are equally common, erinaq; their name in northern Alaska is unknown. No incantations were recorded outside of the Copper Eskimo area. A Mackenzie delta woman remembered hearing in her childhood an incantation for caribou, and another for brown bears, but she could not recall the words."

6: Roberts and Jenness--295 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo
116, 533, 789

"WEATHER INCANTATIONS

All the songs under this heading are chants for the securing of fine weather with the exception of three. Two are simply given as 'Old Chants' one of which is known to be a children's refrain, and one is for the healing of the sick. Many of them are strikingly beautiful and not a few express in very real form the desire for calm skies and gentle winds. There is about them, as the collector has said, a reflection of the patience of the people and yet, it seems to the writer, also some of their buoyancy of spirit which finds outlet even more in the dance songs. What is the most evident of all is a keen appreciation of melodic beauty and of what is fitting in the way of balance in design, that in musical art, at least, is seldom so apparent among most primitive peoples, except in isolated instances, especially among the people of North America.

There are no groups among these songs which may be made on the basis of formal structure, although many show distinct designs which are really artistic wholes. A few resemble in plan the dance songs which we have just discussed, but none are perfect types so that it could be said that dance songs had been taken over bodily to be used as weather incantations, or vice versa. But there is little doubt but what the dance form has impressed itself sufficiently, if unconsciously, on the minds of the people so that its influence has extended even to the chants, and it may be that the spurious forms

which have been grouped last in the three sets of dance songs are reflections of the forms of weather incantations, for many of the latter are not unlike them in general structure.

No amount of description would equal a careful examination of the songs themselves, together with the analyses and the comments which accompany each song. Only in this way may their interesting designs and often beautiful melodies be known and appreciated. There are among them a number of versions of the same tunes, which, if they are not mentioned as they are encountered in their order, will be listed later with other variants."

6. Roberts and Jenness--295-296 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo
116, 533, 789

"In the entire collection a number of such 'duplicates' are found which, however, never are real duplicates but versions or variants which afford most interesting material for comparison. So far as has been discovered there are no weather incantations which are variants of dance tunes, or vice versa.

A very much larger percentage of the weather incantations are minor in tonality than was the case with the dance tunes. Counting in, because they are so few and not unrelated, the three songs which are not chants to the spirits who control the weather, out of 29 songs 14 are major, 3 modulate from major to minor, 11 are purely minor and 1 is irregular. In two cases there are two songs in one, in one of which cases the second song involves a modulation to a new major tonality.

Nine songs begin on the fifth of the major, two on the seventh of the minor, which is relatively the same tone, but one of these is a raised seventh. One of the major songs is indefinite as to key, as we would designate it, so that the fifth might be considered the tonic, if another key were judged a more correct representation of the actual situation of the melody. This, with three other cases in which the start is made on the tonic, would make that number four. Four also start on the third of the major key and eight on the fifth of the minor, which is relatively the same tone. One commences on the fourth of the major, a very unusual beginning in any Eskimo tune, while one other starts on the tonic of a minor key, and one on the third of the minor. [296]

For closing, four end on the fifth of the major, seven on the third, as well as seven of minor tonality which end on the fifth (relatively the same tone), four major songs end on the second, two on the true tonic and one on the raised tonic! Of the remainder of the minors, three end on the tonic and one on the third.

Among the minor songs, seven out of eleven cases have the fifth as a general level, two the tonic, one has no general level and the other is doubtfully the second. Among the major songs three have the fifth, two the second, one is divided between the fifth and second, one between the third and tonic, five have the tonic (but four cases are questioned), three have the third but one is not well established, two are uncertain and one has none.

Twenty-two songs begin on the first beat of the measure, a point not so essential to know here as with the dance tunes, but interesting for comparison, three on the last beat and four on the last half-beat.

There are more three-four metres among the chants than among the dance tunes, and in fact there are several songs which show a three-part structure. There are also a number of four-four metres but only one of these is four throughout, and indeed all but this song are of more or less mixed metre. A number have the eighth note as time unit and with these the measures run as high as 5, 6, 7, 8, and even 9, but usually these are not subdivided as it is customary to divide such metres in classical and modern

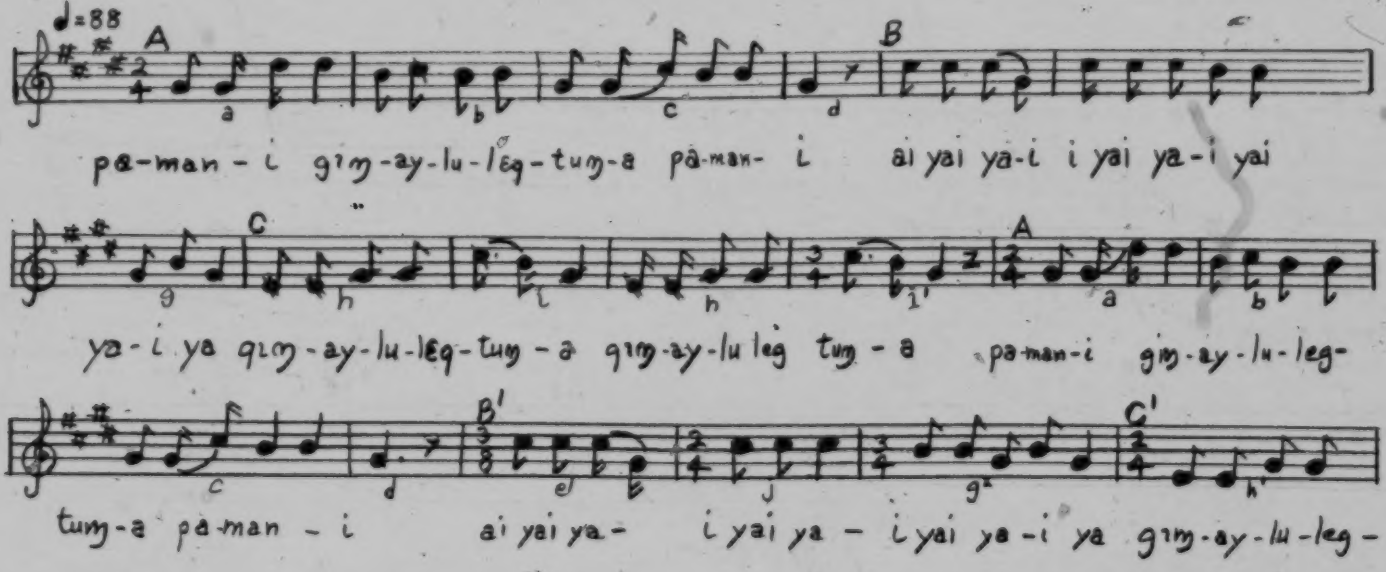
6: Roberts and Jenness--295-296 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo-3
116, 533, 789

European music. On the whole, the measures are more uniform in size than in the dance songs and the order of their recurrence is more regular."

6: Roberts and Jenness--304-305 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo-1
116, 533, 789

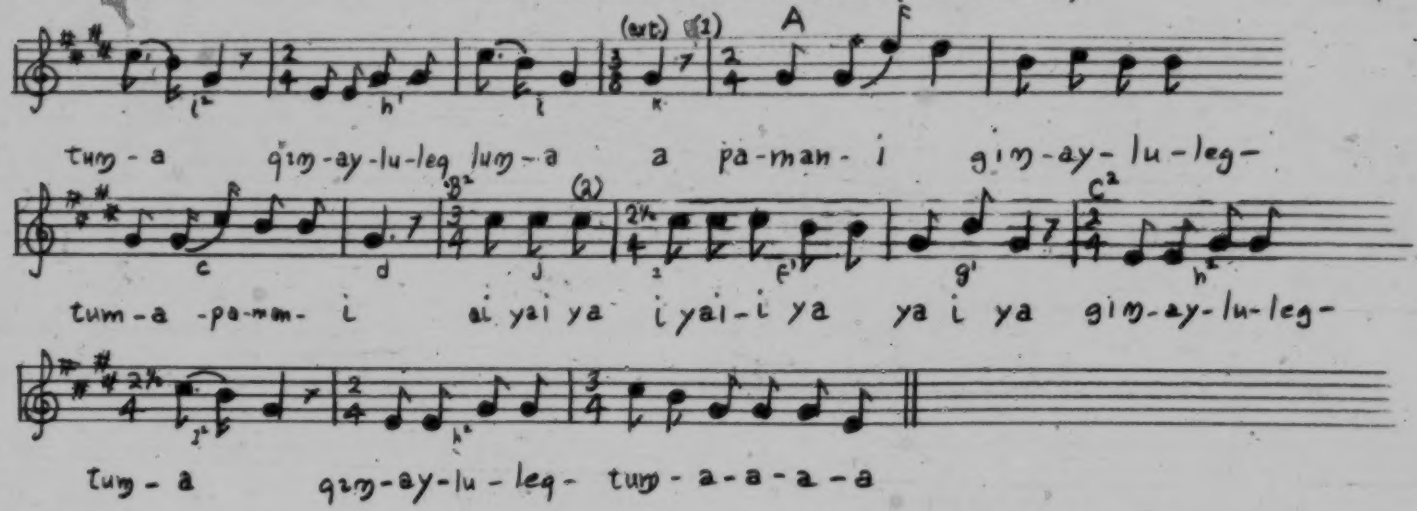
No. 90. " WEATHER INCANTATION.

Record IV C. 81b. Käneyɔq, a Puivliq girl.



6: Roberts and Jenness--304-305 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo-2
116, 533, 789

WEATHER INCANTATION (continued)



"1. Here are spoken the words: qilej. um ä-tuayalua numiyij. amin. i
2. The singer's giggles here broke the rhythm. She seemed embarrassed."

6: Roberts and Jenness--484 (1914-1916) 1925 Copper Eskimo
116, 533, 789

"Weather Incantation, sung by Käneyɔq, a Puivłaq girl
...

Translation

The people they worked hard, the people they worked hard,
Sealskin objects, fillets for the head.
The people they worked hard, the people they worked hard,
Sealskin objects, fillets for the head."

11: Stefansson-184 (1908-1912) 1913 Copper Eskimo
116, 828, 789, 813

"I understand the point of view better now than I did then. It is simple this: if you were to show an Eskimo a bow that would in the ordinary way shoot fifty yards farther than any bow he ever saw, the man would never cease marveling, and he would tell of that bow as long as he lived; he would understand exactly the principle on which it works, would judge it by the standards of the natural, and would find it to excel marvelously. But show him the work of the rifle, which he does not in the least understand, and he is face to face with a miracle; he judges it by the standards of the supernatural instead of by the standards of the natural; he compares it with other miraculous things of which he has heard and which he may even think he has himself seen, and he finds it not at all beyond the average miracles; for the wonders of science and the wildest tales of our own mythologies pale beside the marvels which the Eskimo suppose to be happening all around them every day at the behest of their magicians."

28: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1946
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

Women occasionally strung a row of small bones (Figure 39) or of caribou incisor teeth across the fronts of their coats, but other appendages to their clothing were not so much ornaments as charms. Every mother who carried a baby sewed to her coat some object that she conceived would make the child a skilful hunter or an efficient housewife when it grew up; and she transferred it to the child's clothing as soon as it was old enough to run about. The commonest of these charms were small bones or pieces of fur from a caribou or seal that had been killed by a near relative, e.g., an uncle or a grandfather. Thus, the combination coat and trousers of one little boy carried a string of caribou fur on the chest and another on the back of the left shoulder. Another child wore on his belt a strip of fur from the forehead of a caribou; to the coat-shoulder of a third were sewn three or four feathers from the tail of a redpoll; and a fourth dangled a tern's bill from his back.

Figure 39. Chain of fox bones from the front of woman's coat. IV.D.371. 1/2.

The bone (rarely wood) belt toggle might perhaps be regarded as an ornament, because though generally invisible, it was often decorated with incised lines (Figure 40). A very small toggle on one child's belt (Figure 41) was perforated from side to side, and so closely resembled the toggles attached to needle-cases that it may have been diverted from its original purpose.

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

they were no worse off than ourselves, for the few dryads growing round our camp were too damp even to smoulder, and the semi-dried fish we ate for breakfast and supper were hard on the outside, but perfectly raw within. It was the exposure she dreaded, especially for her little daughter Jennie. She fretted about the child all through the morning, and several times I heard her cry to the fog, "Go away. No one wants you. You make us cold and uncomfortable;" just as white children call to the rain:

> "Rain, rain, go to Spain,
> Never show your face again."

Her anxiety increased toward evening, and she adopted sterner measures. She tied a cord around her face to distort her features, and with a set fox-trap in one hand and a knife in the other, defied the fog with threats and mocking laughter. Knife-Blade and myself, holding her arms, echoed her mockery. "You're a pesky nuisance," she cried, flinging the trap to the ground, where it sprang with a snap. She thrust the two weapons into my hands, distorted my face, and bade me intimidate the fog in the same way; and I repeated her cries, adding a few words of honest English for good measure. Then she re-entered her tent, rolled my jacket into a bundle, and summoned into it, one by one, all the offended spirits that had occasioned the untimely weather. Some were the

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

shades of white men; I named them for her, Jack, Bob, Mary, Jane, and soothed them with fair words until they departed. Others, that were the shades of Eskimos, she herself propitiated in like manner, and banished with her knife a few that seemed loth to depart. At last her efforts succeeded; the jacket told her that the atmosphere would clear on the morrow, and, greatly relieved, she retired to her sleeping-bag to await the result.

An east wind sprang up in the morning and the fog lifted. "Look," she cried, issuing from the tent. "Yesterday we assailed the fog and it has vanished." Ikpuck and his party appeared about noon, weary, but otherwise none the worse for their experience. Thinking it useless to search for the camp until the weather cleared they had wandered about, fishing in different lakes, and huddling together at night on patches of bare ground. Ikpuck had shot a bull caribou that strayed near them, and they had satisfied their hunger with the marrow and back fat, seasoning them with raw fish.

The Runner now decided to move to a lake farther north where they had caught many fish during their late excursion; but Ikpuck wanted to continue eastward in search of more caribou. The former departed first. We watched his family disappear over the ridge, then packed up our own equipment and marched away. So our last link with the tribe was severed, and the dispersal of the band complete.

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437 Eskimos from both sides of the strait, and from the [361] Coppermine River area, flocked to the station to trade before the opening of the sealing season, until their new-born village on the edge of the ice contained [123] nearly a hundred and fifty inhabitants. They remained with us for three weeks, giving no trouble, although we excluded all but Ikpuck's family from the house until 124 nightfall. I tried, with Patsy's assistance, to delve into their religion and to record their ancient traditions; but privacy was impossible and fear of public dis- 123 approval sealed their lips. They spent their days in 437 trading with me, or in visiting each other's huts and 574 holding impromptu dances; then, after the white men 125 had put away their note-books and retired to read in their bunks, they gathered around my phonograph and 123 filled the house with song. Although the love of music is inborn, not taught, I had hoped that the sweetness of their voices would kindle an æsthetic glow in the cold, scientific breasts of my companions. But Cox leaped violently from his bed one midnight, and with neither sympathy nor ceremony expelled the belated choristers into the outer darkness.

533 All the chants they sang for me were either dance- 789 songs or incantations to create fine weather. I asked [535] them for lullabies; they responded with more dance- [854] songs. The mother who rocked her baby to sleep on her back, under the warm fur coat, crooned the same melodies that she shouted in the dance-house to the booming of the drum.

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the booming of the drum. Were there no war-songs, no chants of victory? They asked me what war meant, for they knew of no enemies except the Indians far to the south, whom they seldom saw and carefully avoided. Surely, then, there were love-songs, songs in which the youth declared his passion and praised his fair one's beauty. No, life was hard, marriage a necessity for all. The maiden must wed a hunter who could provide her with food, clothing, and shelter, and the youth must seek out a bride who would prepare his food and sew his garments. If couples failed to agree, they could separate and find other mates. Beauty, that soon faded, did not help them in the struggle for life's necessities, and romance was stifled. The dance-house was the social hearth. There they chanted their prayers to the mystic powers that controlled the weather, that could shatter the ice-fields or withhold the game; and there, in song, they narrated their adventures and retailed the news from distant tribes. The incantations were their prayers, the dance-songs their chronicle of current events. Ikpuck sang of our polar-bear hunt, and song and story spread far along the coast, growing more garbled and unintelligible at every stage of their journey. The words of his song mattered little; every dancer could improvise new syllables, like the foreigner who sings Italian opera. What counted most was the new melody, bringing joy to the hearts of a people who found in music their

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until he could walk again; and the parents, who had often been our guests, gratefully accepted, on condition that the old medicine-man also gave his consent. When I asked them why they needed the medicine-man's permission they told me that he had undertaken to effect a cure, provided he were given the boy in payment; and that they had consented, much against their will, lest the child should be crippled for life. They requested the old man to release them from the engagement, but he refused, not unnaturally, perhaps, since he hoped that the boy would support him in his declining years; and the parents dared not go back on their word for fear of the old man's witchcraft. So the boy did not return with me, but remained in the settlement; and though his leg healed rapidly, his family lost him for ever.

Fate dealt less harshly with Fish-Head, a kindly old simpleton who harboured no ill-will toward any one. He had bought from me a .44 Winchester rifle, which he lashed inside a sealskin and stored at the back of his sleeping-platform. Knife, the shrewd medicine-man who had acquitted me of murder, told him that the weapon would rust inside the hut, and advised him to keep it on the parapet among the bales of clothing. Two nights after the old man changed its position the rifle disappeared. No one, of course, had stolen it; all the people accepted Knife's explanation,

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123 •789 that the dogs had dragged it away in the darkness and the drifting snow had concealed it from sight. The distracted owner came to me: Could I not find it was the magic needle that spun round and round when I placed my knife beneath it, but at rest always pointed in the same direction? I listened to his story attentively, and promised that he should recover the [124] rifle before many days. That same evening I was visited by Knife, who also owned a .44 Winchester rifle, which I had agreed to replace with a more powerful 30.30 if he taught me the lore of his people. After mentioning Fish-Head's misfortune, I said: "You must be able to find his weapon, for you are the greatest medicine-man in this country. See that it is given back to him, for until it is found I can neither change your own rifle nor trade with any of your people." He protested vehemently against such an impossible task, and when I would not relent, departed in ill-humour. Nothing happened for two days; Knife kept aloof from me, and I abstained from all trade. Then one stormy morning an excited crowd broke into my tent, led by the triumphant Fish-Head. The rifle was found. Knife, the great medicine-man, had discovered it. He had gone out to shoot a raven that haunted the settlement, although the people had never thought of harming it before, and had come upon the rifle half buried in the snow. Knife himself stood

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grinning in the background. I congratulated him; he *was* a great medicine-man. And later I changed his own .44 rifle for a 30.30.

A woman who entered Ikpuck's hut about 4 A.M. one morning, announced that his half-niece had just given birth to a daughter. Icehouse dressed quickly and went over to visit the mother; but Ikpuck, after the first enquiries, paid no further attention. A boy would have augmented the ranks of the hunters; but a girl, well, she was only one more to support. I, too, gave the matter no thought, leaving at daybreak to return to the station. But the day following the newly delivered wife and her husband marched across the strait in the teeth of a blizzard and built a snow-hut beside us. The baby remained behind. It had come at an inopportune season when the parents were migrating to the eastward; so without a pang they had crushed out its little life and laid the body on the wind-swept snow.

Four other mothers destroyed their babes this winter within an hour of delivery. Terrible as their crime may seem, they should not be condemned too hastily. Every society has devised some method, conscious or unconscious, for checking the full and unrestricted growth of its population; and infanticide, the simplest of them all, was in past ages the most widely spread. Greece and Rome condoned it, and even